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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the criteria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband 581 883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more industrious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im- 461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big, 581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or 832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly, were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always mentioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her husband left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from relatives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies [584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents, but the boy and his family would not accept her because she was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy. When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs. When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms. If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus- 626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

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* Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [496] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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121 861 431 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[476] [461] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [574] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

121 861 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialisation since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to board them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Hau came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Hamb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Tambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Hamb would shoot a'gouris for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Hamb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] [241] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and Mey said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Eviya there to finish it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [787] [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the